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TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

Agreeably to the promise which I made in the conclusion of my last letter, (Register, p. 709) I now proceed to make some observations with a view of pointing out the cause to which, in my opinion, the present perilous situation of this country can alone be attributed.

One of the most important advantages to be derived from the study of history, is, that, by being made acquainted with the foundation and rise of states and empires, we are led to an admiration of the patriotism, and hence perhaps to an imitation of the exertions, which conducted to their true glory and prosperity. For, that man must be destitute of every noble principle who can read of the exploits of an Athenian, a Lacedæmonian, or a Roman patriot, without being in some degree inspired with the same feelings—with the same *amor patriæ*, which were so eminently possessed by the heroes of antiquity, and to which their admirable historians have done so much justice. But, as the glory of the Grecian states has long since vanished, and as the vast empires of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medes and Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans, with others of later date, have likewise disappeared, we ought not merely to advert to those circumstances which constituted their greatness; but we ought also to endeavour to become acquainted with the causes of their declension and fall. To statesmen, indeed, this knowledge is of primary importance, and a due attention to it appears indispensably necessary for the preservation of a state; for, as similar causes may always naturally be expected to produce similar effects, there is certainly great reason to apprehend, that bad consequences will ensue to any country in which the evils that have been generally observed to occasion the ruin of empires, are known to prevail. Of those evils, luxury has always proved the most fatal, and indeed it alone may be considered as the great cause of the fall of the once flourishing and powerful states which we read of in history. I would ask, then, does

this pernicious evil at present exist in *this* country? And, I am confident, every attentive observer of the manners of the age must answer in the affirmative.

If, Sir, we be warranted in forming an opinion on the subject from the conduct of the greater number of our statesmen, and particularly from what it has been since the conclusion of the late disgraceful negotiation for peace, I trust you will agree with me, that “the dereliction of principle and “indifference with respect to the honour of “the nation,” the effects of which we have so great cause to lament, may, with truth, be said to proceed, in a great degree, from that *lethargic sloth and effeminacy* into which our statesmen, with a few exceptions, seem to have sunk. That this, indeed, is the case, appears to me so evident as not even to admit of a doubt; for it is a fact which observation and experience unfortunately confirm, that the love of ease and pleasure has a most direct tendency to extinguish that of glory, liberty, and independence; and, to prove the lamentable prevalence of this love of pleasure at the present moment, it is only necessary to peruse our daily prints, several of which contain little else than accounts of routs, masquerades, balls, midnight revels, *private theatrical performances*, &c.

But it may be alleged, as an excuse for indulging in the effeminate irregularities above-mentioned, that they have in former times been as prevalent as at present, without being attended with any bad effect to the country. This, however, cannot be considered as an argument in their favour; “for, as it is true that every vapour or “fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is “nevertheless true, that storms, though “they blow over divers times, yet may “fall at last:” and we have seen, in the present instance, that the evil in question has been productive of the most direful effects; that it has reduced the majority of our statesmen to such an abject condition, that a peace made on dishonourable terms, has met with the approbation of Parliament, at a time when the country was in a prosperous and flourishing state, nay, even when

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her arms were triumphant!!! Thus it appears but too evident, that "our arch of empire" may, alas! now be called "a mutilated structure;" but I still trust, it is not "soon to fall." Great efforts, however, are necessary to counteract the evils which exist; and, as I flatter myself that the exertions which you, Mr. Editor, have already evinced your ability and willingness to use, will *not* ultimately fail to rouse the latent energies of the country, I shall have fully attained the object of this letter, if what I have stated be the means of directing your serious attention to this momentous subject.

I would now proceed to suggest the only remedy that, in my opinion, can prove effectual for the removal of the evils above-mentioned; but, as, I suspect, my ideas of that matter do not entirely co-incide with yours, I shall defer communicating them for the present.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient
and very humble Servant,

Philo-Misogalli.

Sbarny-billock, June 19, 1802.

TO PHILO-MISOGALLI.

Sir,

Your former letter, notwithstanding I could but regard it as a sort of reproof, I hesitated not to insert, in the hope of thereby encouraging you to communicate to my readers, that *consolation*, which, I confess, it is not in my power to offer them. You have kept your promise with respect to the primary cause of our present degradation; but, alas! I find, in your letter, no means pointed out for averting its final and fatal consequences. You have blamed me for having probed the wound, for having ascertained its depth and its deadly state, without having made an attempt to heal it: you yourself have only added to the alarm which I have excited, by showing that the evil is to be attributed to a cause, which, it is greatly to be feared, will never cease to operate, till total ruin shall have overtaken us. The lethargy and effeminacy which characterize the rich, and the total want of patriotism and love of glory, which prevails amongst *all* ranks of the people, are evils not to be cured, but by those great national calamities, which, in the end, they never fail to produce, and which are neither

to be hastened nor retarded by any effort of mine or yours.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble
and obedient Servant,

Wm. Cobbett.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On Thursday (June 17) no debate of consequence took place in the House of Lords. After some business before the House had been gone through, the order of the day for their lordships to go into a committee on the Debtor's Relief Bill was read. The bill was opposed by *Lord Alvanley*, who thought it highly objectionable, as it would go to place an unfortunate debtor in the worst situation of a bankrupt, without affording him the benefit of the bankrupt laws, and as it likewise affected the leading provisions of the Act of the 32d Geo. II. His lordship also stated various other grounds of objection, and concluded by moving that "the bill should be committed this day three months." The bill was defended by the *Lord Chancellor*, and the *Earl of Carysfort*, who were, however, of opinion with Lord Alvanley, that from the lateness of the session and the thinness of the House it would be better to postpone the consideration of the bill. It was, therefore, ordered to be committed that day three months.

Some debate took place the next day (June 18) on the consideration of a motion for the repeal of the 129th standing order of the House, which relates to the pedigree of peers. The motion was opposed by the *Earl of Suffolk*, and the *Duke of Norfolk*, who contended that the order was of long standing, and had been productive of the best consequences. It was supported by *Lord Thurlow*, the *Lord Chancellor*, and other noble lords. An amendment, modifying the motion, was proposed by *Lord Auckland*, and negatived. The subject was, at last, postponed till next session.

Nothing particular occurred on Saturday (June 19). On Monday (June 21) the consideration of Glenken's Canal Bill produced a debate of some length and no little interest. *Lord Thurlow*, the *Lord Chancellor*, *Lord Alvanley*, and the *Lord Chief Justice* disapproved of the principle of the bill, particularly of those parts of it, which, in order to purchase shares in this canal, authorized the sale of *entailed estates*. A motion was

figally made for the omission of these clauses, which was carried 16 to 8. The further consideration of the bill was deferred till the next day. On the question for the commitment of the Foreign Letters Postage Bill, the *Earl of Suffolk* called the attention of the House to some grievances which the inhabitants of Dover would be under by those provisions of the bill which went to exempt French packets from tonnage, by which means those vessels would be enabled to take over passengers much cheaper than the Dover Packet Owners could afford to do. It was the intention of the inhabitants to instruct their representative on the occasion. He knew not whether it was regular on such a bill as that in question for petitions to be heard by counsel against it, in the same session, but if it were, he would suggest the propriety of such a proceeding. *Lord Auckland* in a statement of some length, and which included some official details, replied to the objections urged by the noble earl, in the course of which he stated that the return of peace joined to considerations of commercial convenience, rendered it advisable to equalize the rates of postage on letters to France, Holland, and Hamburg, which now were fixed at 10d. 12d. and 16d. From this arrangement, however apparently disadvantageous, he was confident the post revenues would not eventually suffer. With respect to the alleged grievances stated by the noble earl, he argued that the regulation could have no such effect. The tonnage duty was taken off from packets coming with the mails, and which was done from the considerations he had stated, and also in consideration of the duty of £7 for every packet, which the French government had during the war laid on English vessels being taken off; in regulating those matters he observed the French government manifested every friendly symptom. The tonnage duty to which, so we understand his lordship, the Dover packets were liable, was only 1s. per ton, and these vessels ran to no more than from 35 to 50 tons; but the regulation did not affect them at all, as eventually the difference would be made good to them.

Little was done in the House of Commons on Thursday (June 17). Some conversation took place on the third reading of the Irish Controverted Election Bill. On the question being put for the passing of the bill it was opposed by *Mr. Dawson*, and defended by *Mr. Leigh*. The bill passed. A petition was presented by *Mr. Lushington*

from the Ship Owners of London against the Tonnage Bill. *Mr. Lushington* stated that as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared to the deputation of ship owners that he believed they were able to pay the tax, but if he found they were not, it should be altered, no objection could be made to having the petition and facts, on a future occasion, taken into serious consideration. *Mr. Tierney* moved his resolutions on finances, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* gave notice that he should move his counter resolutions on Monday. Some other business was then gone through, and the House adjourned.

No debate took place in the House on the two following days (Friday 18 and Saturday 19). The National Debt Bill, the Little Goes Bill, the £1,500,000 Exchequer Bills Bill, the Land Tax Redemption Bill, the Irish Uncertificated Bankrupt Bill, the Deer Stealing Bill, Lord Hutchinson's Annuity Bill, the Hydrometer Bill, the Isle of Man Bill, and the Milford Haven Bill, were read a third time and passed. Several reports were received, and several bills forwarded.

(The Proceedings for the remainder of the Session will be given next week).

Extract from the Report of the Select Committee of the Directors of the East-India Company.

(Continued from p. 712.)

"On many occasions, the Indian Agents appear to overrate their knowledge of foreigners and foreign trade; their principles and arguments are often purely theoretical, contradicted by facts and the experience of practical merchants. They cannot abandon the idea, that, if they can deprive the Company of any part of their rights, the whole of what is so taken must fall *exclusively* to themselves. It is for this reason that, whilst they are struggling to wrest the whole monopoly from the Company, they are equally anxious and clamorous to preserve inviolate what they call the name, and consequently the *odium* of monopoly, to the Company;—whilst themselves, their Indian ships, and Lascars, must (as they pretend) enjoy every advantage, they are strong advocates for every other description of exclusion; that they will not suffer any other British merchant, British ship, or British seamen to interfere with what they are pleased to call the *exclusive* trade of the Company. They contend, that the commerce of India cannot be carried on under the restrictions imposed by the Company; they propose, therefore, to free themselves from those restrictions, whilst they would leave them imposed on those who, they think, might be their competitors in turn. But they are not aware, that, whilst they contend to destroy the part of an ancient, firm, extensive fabric, over which they have no legal right or claim whatever, the ancient, real proprietors, finding themselves deprived of that broad shield, which has hitherto protected and pre-

served inviolate, under the British Constitution, all Corporate Bodies, may spurn at the ruin which will remain.

"During a war of about nine years, the commerce of the world has flowed into the lap of Great-Britain, in consequence of the seas having been covered with her fleets. The Indian Agents have blinded the eyes of superficial observers, by proposing to substitute their *enterprise* after the peace, in order to produce the same effect which the British cannon has done during the war. If it shall be thought right to destroy a Corporate Body, and a system held sacred above two centuries, it surely merits due consideration, and ought not to be the work of a moment of delirium; for the Company will venture to assert, that the increased trade has not been in consequence of the enterprise of individuals alone, but may be attributed distinctly to British valour and unprecedented naval success.

"Two years (a very short period indeed, when compared with the importance of the subject) is fully sufficient to convict the Indian Agents of error and fallacy in every point which they have advanced on their side of the question; for it is supposed that Foreigners cannot immediately take advantage of the peace, and therefore it may require that time to judge of the effect which will be produced by their appearing once more as free traders and navigators in the Indian seas. But every motive and every reason calls on his Majesty's Ministers to pause before they destroy the chartered rights and ancient system of the East-India Company. When it was proposed in the General Court to refer this question to opinions of high authority, it was declined in the then state of the question, as not consistent with the dignity of the Company; at the same time that it would have proved extremely invidious to the great and respectable characters whose names were mentioned on the occasion. If the business shall again be brought into Parliament, this circumstance will give it a complexion totally different; and your Committee hope, therefore, that before any decisive measure shall be adopted, his Majesty's ministers and the public may be aided by the opinions of Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, and Mr. Hastings, relative to the views and conduct of private traders; as their profound knowledge and extensive experience of the past will enable them to form a more competent judgment how far the pretensions of those traders are consistent with the rights of the Company, and more particularly with the safety of the British Empire in India.

"The concessions made in the year 1793, are the source from whence the present claims spring. If those claims are granted, they will serve as the means to introduce others hereafter—if they do not, at an early period, substitute a few favoured individuals on the ruin of the Company:—it is therefore incumbent on the Court of Directors, when they find the danger inevitable, to declare to their constituents and to the public, that it is preferable to open the trade with India to every British ship, and every British subject, rather than suffer the Company to remain as a flimsy veil, to reward the intrigues, and to gratify the avarice of a few Indian Agents and Traders. Your Committee must insist, that the *real* enemy of the Company is the private trader, when he steps beyond the bound prescribed by law. Foreigners have a *bona fide* trade:—almost the whole of their exports are paid for in silver, which contributes to the prosperity of the empire in India, without prejudice to the mother country. On the other hand, private traders encroach every where on the Com-

pany: they absorb those funds, which are wanted for political as well as commercial purposes: their intercourse and connexions with the interior of India tend to shake, and must ultimately destroy, the authority of the British Government; whilst their attempt to introduce the ships of India, to the exclusion of the ships of Great-Britain and Ireland, crowns the whole.

"There appears to be an apprehension about the foreign trade, which no practical foreign merchant can understand. It is but fair to ask for a single instance, wherein it has succeeded? With regard to foreign Companies, they stood before the war in the following situation:

"That of Sweden traded to China only, and was almost annihilated by the Commutation Act.

"The Danish China Company nearly in the same predicament.

"The Danish India Company ruined.

"The Embden India Company was trifling, but ruined.

"The Dutch Company was in great distress; since ruined.

"The Trieste Company ruined, with the loss of almost the whole of her capital.

"Those of France have been numerous but unfortunate.

"Portugal never had a regular Company, and those of Spain are not worth notice; except that no instance appears of success.

"All the maritime states of Europe have at times looked to India as a source of strength and riches. Only two nations, however, have been able for any long period to make their intercourse with India productive of great national benefit—Great-Britain and the late United Provinces: both have combined considerable territorial acquisitions, with exclusive commerce, and through the medium of an exclusive Company.

"Private merchants on the Continent were successful until the Presidencies in India were permitted to draw on the Company at home for the liquidation of the debts in India. Since that period, numerous failures have happened abroad, and those merchants who carried on the trade formerly, are at this time comparatively insignificant.—These observations apply much more pointedly, when it is considered that the private traders build the whole of their speculation on a *cheap rate of freight*; that the Company's rate of peace-freight (which was high before the war), has been considerably reduced, and that the rate of freight for Indian ships has been, on some occasions, very much increased.

"It is further remarkable that in France, where the Company was abolished, in consequence of the clamour of individuals, the government there, after having been witness to the ruin which followed, and after the most mature deliberation, determined to re-establish the Company. Amidst this wreck of general and individual enterprise, the English East-India Company alone was able to rear its broad front with a proud and envied preeminence; and although year after year she was threatened with incumbent ruin, yet every year seemed to add something to her strength and her power.

"Some time since an attempt was made to establish a rival Bank, under the specious pretence of the advantage which would result from competition. There could be no doubt about the additional facility which a few enterprising men would derive for a short time, to assist their wild extensive projects:—the public immediately saw through the delusion, and the first attempt to bring the measure forward is

the House of Commons was instantly crushed. It is remarkable however, that the attempt at that time to invade the Charter of the Bank of England, and that which is now making to destroy the East-India Company, spring from the same source.

"The monopoly of the exclusive trade has continued, since the year 1600, with slight variations. The exigencies of government, and that prudence, which sometimes prescribes a temporary sacrifice to popular prejudices, have at some periods seemed to favour the views of individual adventurers; but those appearances lasted no longer than the necessity which extorted them. It was rather a connivance than a license; nor does it appear that those individuals succeeded in their speculations. They bought, at a high price, from the poverty of the State, or the venality of its members, a permission to ruin themselves.

"There occurs only one instance that forms an exception to the uniform opinion of government on this great and important commercial point; it is the attempt of Oliver Cromwell, about the year 1655, to lay the trade open. This bold experiment terminated as might have been expected; it confirmed the Protector in the wisdom of that policy which he had doubted. The monopoly was re-established, and the Company's temporary abolition became, in its consequences, their triumph.

"Towards the close of the seventeenth century, two rival companies existed (the object contended for at present by the private traders, who would enjoy every advantage, free from the restraints and the expense of a corporate body), when it was found that the success of either was impossible, and the ruin of both was probable:—an union was therefore loudly called for, and accomplished, under the arbitration and award of Lord Godolphin. The Charter, which was passed on the 12th of April, 1686, concludes with energetic words on the subject of the Company's exclusive trade; and with which your Committee will beg leave to terminate their labours, viz. "Being fully satisfied that the trade cannot be maintained and carried on to national advantage, but by one general joint stock; and that a loose and general trade will be the ruin of the whole."

"Having thus brought to a conclusion the observations which your Committee have to offer to the Court, on the abstract questions of trade and ships, they beg leave to observe, that they have not discussed the fatal consequences which must arise from establishing the first and most dangerous principle of colonization; as they have demonstrated in their former reports, that the plans of the private traders (if admitted) must terminate in the destruction of the British Empire in India.

"Nor have they touched on the commercial rights of the Company to regulate and to transmit dispatches to India on this subject; for although the Commissioners have expressed their doubts, yet they do not deny the rights of the Company. But as a Proprietor in the General Court has manifested a disposition to agitate this question, your Committee have annexed extracts from two letters*, the one

* The Court of Directors having expressed themselves too strongly in a Dispatch to Bengal, in consequence of the Privilege Goods by the Winterton, in the year 1785, received the following just observations from the Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

dated in 1787, not long after the establishment of the Board of Commissioners, the other dated so late as the 21st of March, 1801, in both which the rights of the Company are expressly acknowledged.

Charles Mills, J. Roberts, F. Baring, Jacob Bosanquet, Hugh Inglis, Joseph Cotton, Abraham Roberts, Edw. Parry.

East-India House, 25th March, 1802.

EAST-INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, the 23d inst. a Quarterly General Court was held. After dis-

Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners for the Affairs of India to the Court of Directors, dated Whitehall, 27th January, 1787.

"In the tenth paragraph of your Commercial Draft, No. 272, we have altered one word, by substituting *unwarrantable* in place of *shameful*. The sense is equally preserved, notwithstanding the alteration; and we are sure it must be your disposition, as much as our's, to treat the Members of your Supreme Government in India with every possible respect, for in preserving their dignity, you in truth are preserving your own. Where disapprobation of a measure is necessary, it must be conveyed to them pointedly and intelligibly; but unless you mean to recall them from your service, it will certainly be your disposition to apply no mode of expression to them, which almost renders it incompatible with their feelings as Gentlemen to remain in their situations. We are the more anxious that this dispatch should not contain one exceptionable word, because, having perused it with great attention, it is impossible for us not to feel the highest satisfaction from the attention and ability with which you have treated the subject: and we are persuaded that a continuance of the same attention to your commercial administration will redound greatly to your own honour, and the benefit of your constituents. We feel ourselves at liberty to say this with the more freedom, as we are speaking of a department of your business where the administration, and of course the credit resulting from it, is exclusively your own.

W. Pitt, Henry Dundas, Mulgrave.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, to the Chairman, relative to the present question about Private Trade.—Dated Wimbledon, 21st March, 1801.

"It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that in all the discussions I have had on this subject with the Court of Directors, I have not been entitled to exercise any authority in the determination of the subject. It is a subject over which the Commissioners for the Affairs of India have no controul; and whatever I have stated, or now state, or may hereafter state, must be received from me in my individual capacity; and therefore, if either my reasoning and judgment, or the reasoning of your Government abroad, has not the effect of varying the opinion of the Court of Directors, I trust you will not delay acting upon the principles detailed in the resolutions you have done me the honour to communicate to me; for the worst result that can arise from the discussion, is any further delay in coming to a decision upon it.

patching some business of routine a very interesting and important discussion took place relative to the *Private Trade*. The minutes of the Secret Committee stated, that conferences had been held between the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, and the Earl of Dartmouth, in the last of which that noble lord assured the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, in behalf of the Board of Commissioners and himself, "That they had no intention whatever of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East-India Company."—The Secret Committee, therefore, recommend it to the Court of Directors, to annul every word in any of the Court's former Resolutions or Reports tending to convey any imputation that such had been the intention of the Board of Commissioners. The Court of Directors acted in conformity to such recommendation, and at the further conferences, mutual concessions were made by the Board of Commissioners, and the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, for the sake of conciliation, and of restoring that good understanding between the Board of Commissioners and the Directors, so essentially important and useful to the interests of the East-India Company, and such alterations had been made in the paragraphs formerly sent down from the Board of Commissioners, that the Court of Directors had unanimously come to a resolution of approving them, and sending them out to India forthwith, not doubting but their constituents, in General Court assembled, would think they did not sacrifice the true honour and interests of the Company. These minutes having been read, a copy of the paragraphs sent down to the Directors by the Board, and intended to be immediately sent out in their dispatch to India, as instructions to their Governor-General and Council at Calcutta, were read, and were of considerable length.

Mr. Huddleston, at the close of a speech of some length, moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Chisholme.

"That this Court entirely approves the conduct of the Court of Directors in relation to the Private Trade with India, as stated in the proceedings that have now been read, and observe with the highest satisfaction that those proceedings have been in exact conformity with the spirit of the resolution of the last General Court, and that the result has been a re-establishment of that good understanding with the Board of Commissioners which is so essential to the

interests both of the Company and the public."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Johnstone, who moved the previous question, and was seconded by Mr. Upp. Mr. Impey and Mr. Jackson supported this motion, and Messrs. Bosanquet and Moore spoke against it. The original motion was finally put and carried without a division.—The speeches of Messrs. Moore and Jackson are worthy of particular attention, as they, in some measure, convey the opinion of the Company, respecting the conduct and projects of Mr. Dundas.—Mr. Moore said, he hoped the spirit of concord would predominate, and he in a great measure ascribed the restoration of peace within those walls, to the happy circumstance of the pestiferous influence that obtained there for many years preceding the commencement of the year 1801, being no longer in operation. He held up a pamphlet written by he knew not whom, but the person who wrote it was evidently a quack: he said in the same breath that he had nothing to do with them, and yet desired to prescribe for them. They were on the recovery, and he begged them to return to the old system, and fall into a galloping consumption again. He knew not who the anonymous quack was, but he desired every proprietor to read the pamphlet with caution, assuring him that he would find a farrago as fully fraught with presumption and ignorance, as a certain letter written either in April or June last year, was with arrogance and folly. The one seemed to be the counterpart of the other: the second was the distant echo of the first*.—Mr. Jackson said, that he was not quite pleased with the conduct of the Directors; in his opinion they had conceded too much. He was persuaded they would always be well supported by the Proprietary, when they firmly stood up in

* MR. DUNDAS addressed a letter to the Court of Directors, dated June 30, 1801, which letter he has since published in a pamphlet. The Special Committee of the Court of Directors having, in the report, from which we have made a copious extract (Vide Register, p. 622, 712, and 742), controverted the doctrines and statements of this letter, and having drawn certain comparisons, little flattering to Mr. Dundas, that gentleman, or some one of his friends, has, within these very few days, published the pamphlet, which Mr. Moore attributes to some "anonymous quack," and which, under the title of a letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, professes to vindicate the past administration and the prospective plans of Mr. Dundas. That this pamphlet was actually written by Mr. Dundas it would be too much for us to assert; but we are persuaded he will never deny being the author of it.

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defence of the rights and privileges of the Company. They saw their commercial rights invaded. They resisted. They did well to resist. War was declared between them and the Board of Controul, and he was sorry to see the dignity of the Company degraded in the preliminary articles of peace between the Board of Commissioners and the Directors. He did not like to see the annulling all the strong expressions in the Reports and Resolutions of the Court of Directors run before the negotiation. He thought there was humiliation in it. He felt the humiliation when he saw the Directors on their knees to the Board of Controul. With regard to the motions before the House, he certainly wished to see what the instructions read contained, before he expressed his high satisfaction on the occasion. It was discredit to the Directors to receive the approbation of the Court without the Proprietors first knowing the grounds on which they were called upon to vote. He observed an hon. friend of his (Mr. Moore) had treated a right honourable gentleman, lately high in office, with levity and ridicule. He had charged the late President of the Board of Controul with being the author of a farrago of presumption and ignorance. He thought the hon. proprietor acted rashly in so treating a right hon. gentleman to whom the Company were so highly indebted. Had he forgot that he held up his hand, not many months since, for a vote of thanks, and a pension of £2,000 a year, to that right hon. gentleman, for his eminent services to the Company? He certainly was a man of commanding talents. He had rendered the Company great and essential services. He understood all the concerns of India better than most men living. Mr. Jackson said, he did not mean to advocate Mr. Dundas's projects. He had often opposed him in that Court. He had opposed his Two Million Loan; his payment of the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot; his £500,000 Surplus Scheme being annual and certain; his Depot; and various other of his favourite projects; but he bowed to his abilities, and would do him justice in or out of place. His hon. friend, behind him, was somewhat rash in thus early attacking the object of his former worship. He knew not how soon the right hon. gentleman's influence might be felt by the Company again. His hon. friend had best not be on the high ropes too soon.

APPOINTMENT AT OUDE.

Mr. Johnstone called the attention of the Court to a late appointment to a very high situation at Oude—an appointment which, Mr. Johnstone said, was directly contrary to the spirit of an Act of Parliament, and a most unwarrantable infringement of the undoubted rights of the Company's servants in India. He gave credit to the Directors for having, in the instance that had been the subject of that day's discussion, firmly and successfully stood up for what they conceived to be the commercial rights of the Company; and he hoped they would shew themselves equally ready and anxious to maintain and assert the rights of their servants in India. Mr. Johnstone said, he was not aware whether he was in order or not, but he thought he owed it to those who were employed in the Company's service abroad, to take the first opportunity that offered in a General Court to assert their rights, and call the attention of the Directors towards them.

Mr. Peter Moore said, since the subject had been opened, he begged leave to add, to what the hon. proprietor (Mr. Johnstone) had stated, that the appointment in question was considered, by all descriptions of men, as a gross libel on the whole service abroad—as a gross libel on the justice and dignity of the Company at home. He begged the Court would recollect, that it was the servants of the Company to whom they were indebted for this second world, then fraught with wealth and strength; and that they would compare the condition of India, under the management of the servants of the Company, with its reduced and embarrassed state under a different influence; and, above all, that they will never lose sight of one great and essential feature in the servants of the Company—that they always knew how to obey. (*Loud applause, and a general cry in the Court of: We'll support you!*)

The Chairman assured the hon. proprietor, that the subject of the recent appointment to Oude was at this time under the consideration of the Directors.

The following note was received on the 15th of this month; under cover, with a copy of a pamphlet, entitled, *A Letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, respecting the present situation of the Company's Affairs both abroad and at home; in answer to the state-*

ments given in the latter part of the Third Report of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors:

"Mr. Cobbett's notice of, and extracts from, the Third Report of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors, in the Register of the 29th ult. induced the author of the inclosed pamphlet to read with attention that report, which he had, till then, laid aside for a moment of more leisure.

"As the pamphlet, therefore, may be said to owe its existence to the Register, it appears to the author but fair, and will not, he trusts, be considered presumption, to give Mr. Cobbett an early opportunity of perusing it. As far as Mr. Dundas individually is concerned, it cannot be expected that Mr. Cobbett should agree with the author; this might be too great an effort of impartiality, too wide a departure from former assertions, and too great a sacrifice of existing spleen; but, making every allowance for these considerations, Mr. Cobbett may, perhaps, from a sense of justice to the proprietors of East-India stock, and from a regard to truth, think it worth his while to look into the statements of this letter, as far as facts and figures are concerned, and to examine a little closer into the records and authorities from which they are derived, before he commits his opinions any further in support of the mistakes and mis-statements, of which the authors of the Third Report, by a perversion of truth, and a violation of their trust, have been guilty, in the comparisons they have made of the financial affairs of the Company in the years 1783, 1793, and 1801."

To the Author of the "Letter to the Proprietors of East-India Stock, &c. &c."

Sir,

I have read your pamphlet with great attention, and shall not fail to give it its fair chance for producing effect on the opinions of my readers. I intend to take up this subject in the Supplement to the present volume of the Register (which volume closes with the month of June), where I shall endeavour, not so much to press my sentiments on my readers, as to enable them to form a judgment for themselves. The extracts from your letter will be long, and will derive a considerable advantage from being presented all together.

And now, Sir, give me leave to ask, what reason you had to suppose, that, as far as Mr. Dundas individually was concerned, I

could not be expected to agree with the author? What reason you had to suppose, and even to assert, that "existing spleen" would prevent me from making an impartial decision? What dislike can I have to Mr. Dundas, other than that which his public conduct is calculated to excite? I never saw him, never wrote to him, never (except, perhaps, in the present instance) heard from him. Never did he see my name on the list of the unhappy supplicants for his favour. He never gave me or refused me any thing. It is out of his power to add one tittle to the pleasures or the pains of my life. It is the public conduct and measures of Mr. Dundas that I have commented on, and that I shall comment on. Some persons will call this imprudent; they will shrug up their shoulders and thank their God, that they and theirs are not so fool-hardy. I envy them not their prudence and security. I shall, probably, live as long as they; and, as long as I do live, I shall enjoy something worthy the name of life.

But, Sir, the rudeness, not to say insolence, of your note to me, is far less offensive than the attempt, which you have thought proper to make, to vilify the gentlemen composing the Special Committee of the Court of Directors. I know neither of those gentlemen; they are as perfect strangers to me as Mr. Dundas is; but I cannot help regarding your underhand accusation against them as a glaring proof of a want of candour and of justice. "A perversion of truth, and a violation of trust," are charges, which ought to be made against nobody, without proof; and, give me leave to say, that such proof is not to be found in your pamphlet. Besides, you have preferred these charges secretly. You have taken good care not openly to accuse the East-India Directors with a perversion of truth and a breach of trust, but you have conveyed this accusation to me with the hope, doubtless, that, through me, it would, in some way or other, find its way to the public.

I shall, as I before observed, endeavour to do justice to this subject, as soon as I can prepare the materials: in the mean time, as to the origin of the pamphlet in question, though I do not positively say it was written by Mr. Dundas, I shall believe it was, until I see an unequivocal contradiction of the paragraph which appeared in the True Briton on Saturday the 19th instant*.

Wm. Cobbett.

Pall-Mall, June 24, 1802.

* "We are happy to perceive that Mr. Dundas has taken up the pen to remove the impressions



FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Constantinople, May 20.—The Porte has now acceded to the Definitive Treaty of Amiens, and has sent the act of accession to Paris. In this it is stated, that all the stipulations of this peace, relative to the Porte, shall be carried into execution, and that the friendly connections between the Porte and the French Republic shall be renewed.

Parma, May 28.—The French troops coming from Abruzzo, began to pass through this city about ten days since. We have at present here 3,500 of them, and expect nearly the same number in about eight days.

Vienna, June 2.—The Queen of Naples is preparing for her departure, which will probably take place in the course of the present month. Her Majesty will make but a short stay at Naples, and proceed from thence to Barcelona, on board a Spanish frigate, with the Princess destined to espouse the Prince Royal of Spain. The King of Spain will also repair to the latter city, with the Princess destined to be the spouse of the Prince Royal of Naples. The Neapolitans, who preserve a great attachment to the court of Spain, rejoice at this double alliance, from which they hope great advantages will result.

Berne, June 6.—The Little Council has issued the following arrêté, dated the 1st instant:

1. The censure of the press, established in pursuance of an arrêté of the Senate, dated the 12th of November, 1801, is suppressed.

2. The national prefects shall keep a vigilant eye over those writings which treat of political subjects, and in case they shall find passages contrary to order, and calculated to disturb public tranquillity, they shall stop the circulation of such works, and bring the authors before the tribunals.

3. In such case the national prefects shall inform the government of the measures which they have taken.

4. The publisher or printer of every writing published without the name of the

author, shall be responsible for its contents, and shall put his name to it, under the penalty of 100 francs.

A magnificent monument has been erected in the neighbourhood of Augsburg, in honour of the Archduke Charles, bearing the following inscription—"To the Saviour of Germany, erected by Germans."

June 10.—The separation of the Valais from the Helvetic Republic appears to be completely decided, and it is thought that an act of government will immediately issue, declaring officially its independence.

Nice, June 8.—A battalion of the 69th demi-brigade, which made part of the army of Naples, and which was stationed in Calabria, has arrived in this city.

Wesel, June 10. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel is expected here in a few days, to review the troops.

The interchange of couriers between Berlin and Paris is more frequent than ever. It is asserted, as a thing certain, that after the landgrave's review, the regiments will be appointed who are to be employed in taking possession of the indemnities.

Paris, June 11.—The Consuls, by virtue of the 1st article of the law of the 19th ult. authorising the government to regulate provisionally the duties of customs, have, by an arrêté of the 31st ult. imposed the following duties on sea-coal imported into France.

On sea-coal imported into the ports of the ocean, from Antwerp to the department of the Somme, a duty of 15 francs (12s. 6d.) per ton of 22 quintals. In the department of the Somme, and from Rhedon to Sables d'Olonne, and also in the ports of the Mediterranean, 10 francs (8s. 4d.); in other ports, 8 francs (6s. 8d.)

By an arrêté of the 6th inst. gold and silver, whether minted or not, dishes and plates of gold and silver, and vessels of gold or silver made for the purposes of religious worship, are permitted to be exported to foreign countries.

General VIAL is appointed minister plenipotentiary, on the part of France, to Malta.—Ships have arrived in France, from St. Domingo, loaded with colonial produce.

Copenhagen, June 12.—Prince William of Gloucester arrived this afternoon in our road, on board the Latona frigate: he will land this evening, and occupy the apartments of the Duchess of Augustenburg, in the palace Fredericksberg.

"which may have been made on the unwary, by the bold and hazardous assertions of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors, a task which we think he has most ably accomplished in his letter, just published, addressed to the Proprietors of East India Stock."

Bordeaux, June 13.—A vessel arrived in this port yesterday, from Port Republican, the 14th of April.

At the departure of this vessel the colony was in a state of prosperity, greater than could be imagined, considering the cruel war by which many parts of it were ravaged. (They were ignorant at Port Republican, when the vessel quitted it, of the general pacification of the island.) The French army had very few sick, and enjoyed, upon the whole, the best health. The inhabitants were without the least alarm, in consequence of the care and activity of General Boudet, to whom, and to those under his orders, the preservation of that part of the island was to be attributed. Amongst many traits which distinguish the French soldiers, one was related of a handful of grenadiers, who rescued from the ferocity of an horde of Africans, 700 white women and children, whom the blacks were carrying to the hills. The commerce of the island presented, at that epoch, the most satisfactory results. Sugar was at 40 francs per quintal. They had there a very large quantity of colonial produce, which had been much augmented by the influx of what had been saved from the fury of the negroes in the northern part of the island, and which promised speedy and advantageous returns to those inclined to adventure thither.

Hamburgh, June 15.—The following is the order of march of the troops which are to take possession of the territories assigned for an indemnification to Prussia.

Under the immediate command of his excellency Count Schulenburg, commander in chief, one battalion of Gravenitz, two battalions of Steinwehr, three squadrons of Estorg hussars, two battalions of grenadiers of Braun, and 100 heavy cuirassiers of Quissow, to occupy the Bishopric of Hildesheim.

Under the command of Lieutenant-General Count Wartensleben, 1 battalion of Wartensleben, 1 battalion of Renouard, 1 battalion of fusileers of Bila, 1 battalion of grenadiers of Sohde, 2 squadrons of l'Estocq hussars, 2 companies of fusileers, half a flying battery, 2 companies of foot chasseurs, 5 squadrons of Goeking hussars, which are already in Westphalia—to occupy Eichfeldt, the Bishopric of Paderborn, and a part of Munster.

Under the command of Lieutenant-General Blücher, 5 squadrons of Blücher hussars, 5 battalions of fusileers, 1 battalion of

grenadiers of Dressler, and a half-battery, to take possession of Erfurt, Goslar, Nordhausen, Mühlhausen, &c.

The Council of State, in Holland, has issued a proclamation, ordering the confiscation of all East-India goods imported into Holland by persons not authorised by the law, which establishes the right of the Dutch East-India Company.

Twenty-one of the Dutch fishery vessels employed in the North Seas, have already arrived at Vlaardingen, with 2255 tons of salt fish; and thirty-six more vessels are daily expected.

American papers are received to the 20th of May. A treaty between the United States of America, and the Chickasaw nations of Indians was concluded and signed by the Commissioners of both nations on the 24th of last October. It was ratified by the President of the United States on the 1st day of May last.

By letters from New-York, dated the 19th ult. we are informed that the Batavian fleet, consisting of three ships of the line and a brig, viz. the Brutus, Neptune, and Jean de Witt, and brig Ajax, under command of Admiral Hartsinck, arrived in Hampton Road the 10th, from Cape François. It is said part of the squadron will go to Baltimore to refit.

America.—The following is an extract of the letter from Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States, to Thomas Paine, about which so much has been said:

"You expressed a wish in your letter to return to America by a national ship; Mr. Dawson, who brings over the treaty, and who will present you this letter, is charged with orders to the captain of the Maryland to receive and accommodate you back, if you can be ready to depart at such a short warning. You will in general find us returned to sentiments worthy of former times; in these it will be your glory to have steadily laboured, and with as much effect as any man living. That you may live long to continue your useful labours, and reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations, is my sincere prayer. Accept the assurances of my high esteem, and affectionate attachment.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

Genoa.—According to letters from Italy, the King of Sardinia arrived at Rome on the 22d of May, and proposes to remain there till the business of his indemnity shall be settled.

Sicra Leone.—The following is an extract of a letter from an officer in that colony:

"We arrived here from Goree on the 14th of January, and remained unmolested by the natives until the 18th of the present month (April), when they attacked us at five o'clock in the morning. Our force, then in the fort, was about 60 men, and we understood, from a prisoner, that the enemy were about 300. The rascals, elated at the numbers they killed on the 18th of November, thought that they could do what they pleased. Just after the morning gun fired, they fixed their flag on the east side of the fort, and, after shooting the patrolling centinel, they forced open a gate, and twelve or more had actually got in, when they were charged and forced to retreat. They rallied again and were beaten back; they then kept up a smart fire outside, for about twenty minutes, but being flanked by a bastion on one side, and a large block-house on the other, they were obliged to retreat, leaving 17 men dead under the fort. In the mean time a large party had kept up a heavy fire in the town, but when they perceived their friends running from the fort, they ran also, but were pursued for three miles, when several were shot. There were four-pound guns well loaded with grape, fired on them in their retreat from the block-house, where I commanded, which annoyed them not a little. We had no notice whatever of their coming; indeed I may safely say it was a surprise, as we conceived the dispute was settled, and every difference brought to a conclusion. They are treacherous villains, and would have put us all to death had they succeeded. We have found 31 of them dead, and suppose that, at least, that number or more of them have been killed or wounded, the bush being so thick we have not found any more. Our loss is not so great as might be expected from their numbers.

"African Corps—3 men killed; Captain Lloyd, 1 serjeant, and 6 men wounded.

"Settlers and Maroons in town—1 woman killed; 1 woman, 9 men wounded."

Copy of the Orders of the 12th April, 1802.

Fort Thornton.

"The governor feels extremely happy in congratulating the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the detachment of the African Corps, on the very complete defeat of the enemy in their attack yesterday, which, under Providence,

he is sensible, is owing in great measure to their brave and gallant exertions. His most cordial acknowledgments are due to Captain Lloyd and Ensign Kingsley; to the first for the very spirited manner in which he repeatedly charged and drove back the enemy, after they had forced open and entered the eastern gate; and to the latter for the very great and effectual annoyance he gave the enemy, from the block-house in which he commanded. The governor feels it a duty, which he will most cheerfully fulfil, to make known to his and their superiors in Europe, the high sense he entertains of these gentlemen in particular, and of the whole detachment in general; he requests the commanding officer will cause these orders to be read to the detachment at this evening's parade."

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

General Andreossi is appointed minister plenipotentiary to this court, on the part of France.

Mons. Coynebert Montbret, is arrived in London, on the part of the First Consul, as commercial agent.

The American Congress have passed an act for carrying into execution the convention lately formed here, for paying £600,000 in lieu of all demands against the Americans, under the treaty of 1794.

Edinburgh, June 19.—On Thursday afternoon the following persons arrived in town from Aberdeen, under custody of Mr. Geo. Williamson, messenger, and were committed to prison, viz. ensign John Lanigan; Walter M'Kenzie, Hugh Mitchill, Andrew Mackay, Alex. Sutherland, serjeants; and Wm. Thomson, private; all belonging to the Ross and Cromarty Rangers. Their commitment is in consequence of the late unfortunate affair at Aberdeen, on His Majesty's birth-day. They were brought in a revenue cutter.

The petition of right of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been indorsed by His Majesty into the Court of Chancery, and a speedy hearing upon it will take place.

Thursday the Earl of Galloway attended at St. James's as Lord in Waiting, in consequence of His Majesty having most graciously declined accepting his lordship's resignation.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge arrived at Hanover about mid-day on the 1st of June. The whole city was illu-

minated in the evening. A vast concourse of strangers had come to be present at the rejoicings.

The advices from Jamaica by the mail arrived yesterday brought accounts of a curious incident. The French, it seems, suspected that an illicit traffic in warlike stores might be carried on between Jamaica (individuals, no doubt) and St. Domingo. A vessel was found on the South part of the island of St. Domingo, supposed to have landed a cargo of stores for the use of Toussaint. She was brought down to Jamaica by a French frigate, and a strong remonstrance against such proceeding.

Our readers will recollect, that, in the Register, p. 314, we gave an account of the negro insurrection, in the Island of Tobago, which was suppressed by Brigadier-General Carmichael, who discovered, in that trying situation, a degree of prudence, resolution, and promptitude, rarely to be met with, and we are happy now to have it in our power to show, that his meritorious services have received a most honourable acknowledgment.

Sir,

We take the earliest opportunity your return to this colony has afforded us, of conveying to you the resolutions of both Houses of the Legislature, and we avail ourselves of the opportunity it affords us, of assuring you of the high consideration with which we have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient
and humble Servants,

(Signed) JOHN BALFOUR,
President of the Council.

ROBERT PATERSON,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Brigadier General CARMICHAEL, Tobago.

Extract from the Minutes of the Council and Assembly of Tobago, February 4, 1802.

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of both Houses of Legislature, and a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, be presented to Brigadier General Carmichael, for the services he rendered this colony, on the discovery of the late intended insurrection, and that the President of the Council, and the Speaker of the Assembly, do transmit him a copy of this resolution.

(Signed) JOHN BALFOUR,
President of the Council.
ROBERT PATERSON,
Speaker of the Assembly.

Head Quarters, Scarborough,
Feb 26, 1802.

Gentlemen,

I am favoured with your letter conveying the very distinguished honour conferred upon me by the Legislature of Tobago.

I do not assume no superior merit for any efforts attached to my official situation, in the conscientious and just discharge of which every officer is responsible to the Supreme Tribunal.

On that occasion, Gentlemen, my public duty and personal good wishes were congenial in any exertions that could tend to the benefit of the inhabitants of this island.

The humanity that has ever characterized the British proprietors of Tobago, was not less conspicuous, than their promptitude and energy, when decisive measures could alone rescue the community from a massacre, the most wanton and atrocious that ever revolted against nature.

It is but justice to observe, Gentlemen, that in the necessity of gaining immediate intelligence of the movements and designs of the conspirators, in the military examinations, not one of the many chiefs who confessed the intention of indiscriminate carnage, offered to palliate their turpitude by alledged ill usage, but their sole incitement was a delusive notion of liberty, and perverted idea of freedom, which dissolved all ties of gratitude, friendship, and consanguinity, as evinced in the avowal of their merciless designs against their own kindred and colour, who might feel the dictates of nature, for their indulgent masters, and the families where they had been nurtured with benevolence.

The fortitude of the inhabitants under afflictions succeeding each other at short intervals, is unexampled; in two calamities of sickness and rebellion, they participated with the garrison, and their own sufferings seemed absorbed in the solicitude to alleviate those of his Majesty's troops by every colonial aid and military co-operation.

The sword they have done me the honour to bestow, I shall retain as a sacred pledge of loyalty and affection to my KING and COUNTRY, and always hold it ready to serve in their cause; but it will not require any memento to animate the esteem and regard that will ever be lively in my breast for the Gentlemen of Tobago.

I entreat, Gentlemen, you will do me the favour to communicate those high sentiments, that can be but very feebly expressed by my words, and assure you that I will ever remain with sincerity,

Your faithful humble Servant,

(Signed) H. L. CARMICHAEL.

Brigadier-General, Commanding his
Majesty's Forces in Tobago.

The Hon. JOHN BALFOUR, Esq.
President of the Council.

The Hon. ROBERT PATERSON, Esq.
Speaker of the Assembly.

Mutiny in Dominica.—Letters from Antigua of the 22d April confirm the details we have already inserted respecting the mutiny of the 8th West-India

regiment. The former account stated that all the mutineers were in custody; that from Antigua says, "the number of mutineers killed has not been ascertained with accuracy, owing to several having been shot on the face of the Cabritt leading to the sea: about sixty were buried in one hole: it is supposed that more than one hundred were killed; and among the prisoners are forty wounded, some of them desperately. The corps consisted of nearly five hundred, of which there are said to be in close confinement or prisoners at large on the Upper Cabritt, 370 (including the forty wounded,) of whom it is proposed to try about fifteen. The causes assigned by the mutineers are various; but the having been obliged to work at the draining of the Swamp for the two preceding days, seems to have been the principal; it is a work that would require a long time to complete."

Another letter which we have seen states, that the mutineers aimed particularly at General Johnston, who had a horse killed under him, and received a slight wound in the hand. Mr. Holmes, commanding the militia, had also a horse killed under him, and two of the militia men were killed. The mutineers had manned the several batteries commanding the approach to the port, and when the firing began fired grape shot, by which, and the fire of small arms, two of the Royals, and about 40 of that and the 68th Regiment, were wounded. The mutineers fired from the fort on the men of war, but without effect, during which time many of themselves were blown up by explosions of cartridges. It continues,—"The cause assigned by the mutineers is, having been obliged to cut wood for their officers, which the latter sold; short weight of bread; no settlement of their accounts; and having been employed in draining a morass without being paid for it. The latter seems to have been the principal cause. They had only been at it two days, but it is a work that will take a long time to complete. Forty of the regiment are still unaccounted for; of which it is known that a corporal, and 25, chiefly grenadiers, are in the woods, with abundance of ammunition, when joined by the runaway negroes, they may give considerable molestation before they are subdued."

The following is the account of the loss sustained by his majesty's troops in quelling the mutiny in the 8th West-India Regiment:—

68th Regiment—3 men killed, 15 wounded.

Two Marines of the Magnificent, badly wounded

Militia—1 man killed, 6 wounded.

One Volunteer Sailor, badly wounded.

The loss of the 8th West-India Regiment is stated to be, at the least, 100 killed and wounded:

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The proceedings in Parliament, during the last week, have embraced objects of considerable importance; but the attendance has been so very thin as to discourage all attempt at discussion. The Lords have assembled about 20, and the Commons about 40. The inclination to leave town at this time of the year, particularly upon the

eve of a general election, is irresistible, and, were it only to save appearances, should have been provided for by a more early dispatch of business; for, to see laws passed by one-twentieth part of the members cannot fail to have an injurious effect on the minds of the people, and of the world in general.

As to *parties*, the situation of those politicians, whether writers or talkers, who have no other object than the advancement or the securing of their private interests, is, at this time truly pitiable; for, such is the state of parties, so uncertain is it what course things will take, who will be in power and who will be out of power, that those unhappy creatures know not which way to look, much less do they know what to say. Mr. Sheridan supposed the existence of *thirteen* parties. Bowing with submission to the acuteness and experience of Mr. Sheridan, we must, however, acknowledge, that we have been able to discover but *four*, unless the small splinter which came off in Messrs. Nicholls and Tierney, and which is not yet securely glued on to the old opposition, can be called a party. Of the four to which we think any importance can be attached, the *old opposition*, who call themselves the Whigs, appear to us to be in the most awkward situation. They approved of the peace, because the worse it was the better confirmation it gave of their arguments against the war, and the prolongation of the war; and, it must be allowed, that, if either the existence or the conduct of the war did really render such a peace necessary, if the situation of the country was, (which we deny) such as, "upon the whole, and under all the circumstances of Europe," to render the peace of Amiens advisable, then it must be allowed, that those who opposed, in all its stages, the prosecution of the war, were by far the wisest politicians. But, as the question of peace or war is now at an end, and, as the old opposition do not stand committed on those other great objects of public consideration, which will hereafter present themselves, there are five modes of conduct, which lie open to their choice; first, they may act in a detached body, as they do at present; secondly, as the allies of some other party; thirdly, as neutrals; fourthly, they may set up a sort of armed neutrality; fifthly, they may divide, and in the quality of mercenaries, be opposed to each other, without any diminution of that mutual regard and that love of country, which the virtuous Swiss

are said to entertain, at the very moment when they are plunging the bayonet into each others breasts.—The grand question at present, is, whether Mr. Pitt will come in again or not. Of this we *know* just as much as our neighbours; but, we *think*, that he will not, at least, for some time, because we cannot see how, and under what pretext, he *can* come in. If he consults his reputation, he never will be minister again. The career he would now have to run, would be so very different from that which he lately ran; the situation of the world, and of this country in particular, is so changed; the prospect is so disheartening, and the difficulties will be so great, that the friends of his fame will be very cautious how they advise him to re-assume the reins of government.

The affairs of India are in a state calculated to excite great anxiety, not to say alarm. Mr. Dundas lately represented our power in that quarter of the world as more secure than at any former period. We sincerely wish it may prove so; but, when we look at what is passing in India, in the Parliament, in Leadenhall Street, and in the closet of Mr. Dundas, we are compelled to believe, that exactly the contrary is the fact. The difference between the late President of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors is of a very serious nature, and has been, by the arrogance of the former, fendered irreconcilable. Yet, we imagine, Mr. Dundas will endeavour again to obtain the controul of the affairs of India; nor have we much doubt, that he will succeed; and, if so, the ruin of the Company is, we fear, at no very great distance. His projects are, doubtless, in his opinion, calculated to promote the interests of his sovereign and his country; but, as far as we are able to judge, they contain the seeds of division and revolt, of the loss of commerce and the loss of empire.

It has been stated in some of the public prints, that ministers are about to recall the West-India fleet, in consequence of the subjugation of Toussaint and his citizens! This never can be true. Saint Domingo is at this moment ten thousand times more formidable to our colonies than ever France was to England or Ireland. It is by no means to be presumed, that the French will make any hostile attempt, till they have taken safe possession of all their own colonies, and have completely re-established slavery in them all; but, when those objects are once accomplished, of the day or hour when they will attack Jamaica no man

knoweth or will know any thing. If the West-India islands are worth keeping, we must keep a fleet to defend them. The advocates for peace on any terms, exult in the disappointment of those who predicted the ruin of our colonies and commerce; as if the time were yet come to judge of the correctness of such predictions! An account of the expedition of Leclerc, compared with the wars of General Maitland, we find too long for insertion in the present sheet; but we beg our readers to be assured, that we will never quit that subject till we have done it ample justice. Were we not afraid of being too importunate, we would, too, remind Sir Frederick Morton Eden of his opinions and assertions respecting the "ruined and ravaged St. Domingo," *three fourths* of which, Leclerc tells us, has escaped untouched.

The opening of the Scheldt appears to be a measure about which politicians disagree in opinion. We know not what weight the interests of the French merchants may have in preventing the adoption of this measure; but this we do know, that the Scheldt is, in fact, already opened, and that several American vessels have arrived, and landed their cargoes at Antwerp. Several Danes and Swedes have also arrived at that port. Two of the Americans were laden with India and China goods, and found a very good market. We should imagine, that the great, and indeed the only obstacle, to the revival of the port of Antwerp, is the doubt which Buonaparté may, not without reason, entertain of the durability of the authority of France over the conquered countries. She, at present, holds them at the point of the bayonet, which seems to be a tenure too insecure to encourage her to transfer thither any considerable portion of her commerce. The Dutch will, too, endeavour to buy off the rivalship of the Scheldt; but, if France feels herself quite secure in the possession of her newly acquired territory and slaves, she will set all private considerations at defiance. On this subject, also, the advocates of the peace rejoice at the non-fulfilment of the predictions of their opponents; forgetting, or affecting to forget, that no one ever imagined that Antwerp would revive in a month. No; it is not *this year*, nor *next year*, that London will feel the effects of the opening of the Scheldt; but what are two, five, or ten, or even twenty years, in the life of a nation? Dean Tucker and his followers boasted of the accomplishment of their predictions, with respect to the loss of America.

Instead of ruining England, it extended her manufactures and her commerce. The event had no other effect for several years; but what effect has it now? What effect had it during our late war with France? What effect will it have during the next ten years? Where is the British statesman who can look without trembling at the *million tons of shipping* which America now has? Eighteen years ago America was a bankrupt, and had not a single ship in her harbours. She now exports to the amount of twenty millions sterling annually; she has a million tons of shipping, 60,000 sailors, and she is the first power that conveys the goods of India and China to Antwerp. Let those who count upon our enemy's want of ships and capital remember these facts, and look to some other source for consolation and security, for the preservation of our mercantile and naval preponderance.

The Americans are much offended at the conduct of France. By the Convention of 1800, Buonaparté got rid of their demand for spoiliations; but he has now demanded payment for prizes made by the American vessels and carried into English ports. The contracts entered into by the republican government with the American merchants he refuses to make good; and he also refuses to pay for the merchandize lately seized in St. Domingo. The total loss to America, on these several accounts, amounts to about *fifty millions of dollars*, or about *eleven millions sterling*. Can such a man want capital? Credit and confidence he may want; but capital he will have as long as Peru and Mexico produce silver and gold. The whole world lies open before him. All nations are tributary to him. There is every where a disposition to hate, but no where the courage to resist him. If he lives twenty years, France will be the mistress of the civilized world, and England the basest of her vassals: that is, if we continue in our present temper; if we continue to set a value on nothing but our riches and our ease: our spirit must rise, or our country must fall for ever. In less than six years we must again be at war, or we shall quietly pass under the yoke. The French are at this moment preparing the means of our destruction. While we are lying down to enjoy a long and quiet repose, they are busily employed in planning the operations of another war, and in preparing the means of execution. We have now upon the table before us a book, just published at Paris, indicating the method of totally destroying, during another war, the

naval power of "the tyrants of the seas." The malignity of our enemies has no bounds but those of their power. Their hatred of us is inextinguishable; nothing can abate it, no, not even the wretched state of debasement, into which we have fallen. It is not our humiliation, nor our ruin, that will content them: they aim at our extermination as an independent power, and to frustrate their views will require a spirit very different indeed from that which at present prevails.

Various reports have been circulated as to the time of the arrival of the French ambassador. Some expect him next week, and some even to-day; but we do not think it is likely, that he will arrive before the month of August, at soonest; and, Lord Whitworth certainly will not set out till very near the time of M. Andreossi's arrival. We, for our parts, have no desire to see him. We have lately beheld humiliating scenes enough. The cup of disgrace must, indeed, be drunk to the dregs; but, who does not seek to put off the evil hour?

The scarcity in France is very great. Bread is sold at eight sous per pound. The publishers of news-papers dare not mention the price of bread, or of provisions of any kind, in their publications. One of them was lately threatened with *deportation* for an offence of this sort! Well done, Corsican! Muzzle them, yoke them, ring them, tether them, clog them, whip them, and goad them! Lay on and spare not. You, and you alone, are capable of inflicting on them the punishment due to the murderers of a king.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Whitehall, June 15, 1802.

The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baroness of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, to the Most Hon. Mary Marchioness of Downshire, Widow of the Most Hon. Arthur, late Marquis of Downshire, for and during her natural life, by the name, style, and title of Lady Sandys, Baroness of Ombersley, in the County of Worcester, and from and immediately after her decease, the dignity of a Baron of the said United Kingdom to the Right Honourable Arthur Moyses William Hill, (commonly called Lord Arthur Moyses William Hill), second son of the said Arthur late Marquis of Downshire by the said Mary his wife, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, and in default of such issue to the Right Honourable Arthur Marcus Cecil Hill, (commonly called Lord Arthur Marcus Cecil Hill), third son of the said Arthur, late Marquis of Downshire, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue to the Right Honourable Arthur Augustus Edwin Hill, (commonly called Lord Arthur Augustus Edwin Hill), fourth son of the said Arthur, late Marquis of Downshire, and the heirs male of his body

lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue to the Right Honourable George Augusta Hill, (commonly called Lord George Augusta Hill), fifth son of the said Arthur, late Marquis of Downshire, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue to the Most Honourable Arthur Blundell Sandys Trumbull Marquis of Downshire, eldest son of the said Arthur, late Marquis of Downshire, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.

At the Court at St. James's, the 16th of June, 1802, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

His Majesty having been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. William Lord Lowther to be Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, his Lordship this day took the oaths appointed to be taken thereupon, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

Council-Office, Whitehall, June 15, 1802.

His Majesty having been pleased to appoint his Grace Hugh Duke of Northumberland, K. G. to be Lord Lieutenant of and in the county of Northumberland, and of the town and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a council was this day held at Northumberland House, when his Grace took the oaths appointed to be taken thereupon, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

Downing-Street, June 18, 1802.

The King has been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. Lord Whitworth, K. B. to be His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the French Republic.

The King has also been pleased to appoint James Talbot, Esq. to be His Majesty's Secretary to that embassy.

Whitehall, June 22, 1802.

The King has been pleased to present the Rev. John Marshall, clerk, Master of Arts, to the Rectory of Orsett, in the county of Essex, and Diocese of London, void by the translation of the Right Rev. Father in God Dr. Richard Beadon, Bishop of Gloucester, to the See of Bath and Wells.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Births.—On Thursday, at the house of the Speaker, in Palace-yard, Mrs. Abbot, of a son. On Tuesday, in Portland-place, the Lady of Sir John C. Musgrave, Bart. of a son. At Trentham, on the 17th instant, the Marchioness of Worcester, of a son.

Marriage.—On Saturday the 19th inst. Thomas Heneage, Esq. to the Hon. Arabella Pelham, daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Yarborough.

Deaths.—On the 1st inst. at Barrogill Castle, in the 18th year of his age, John Lord Berriedale, eldest son of the Right Hon. James Earl of Caithness. On Saturday last, in Baker-street, Portman-square, Mrs. De Chair, wife of the Rev. Dr. De Chair, and one of the daughters of the late Sir William Wentworth, Bart. On Sunday last, in the 17th year of his age, of a decline, at Upper Dunstable-House, Richmond, the eldest son of Sir Robert Baker, Bart.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

| | SAT. | MON. | TUE. | WED. | THU. | FRI. |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------|-------------------|
| Bank Stock. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 3 per Cent Red. Ann. | 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 3 per Cent Consols.. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 4 per Cent Consols.. | 99 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 5 per Cent Ann.... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bank Long Ann.... | 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| D ^o Short 1778 & 1779 | 5 | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 5 | — | — | — |
| Imp. 3 per Cent.... | — | 70 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 71 | 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| D ^o Ann..... | 12 | — | 12 | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 5 per Cent 1797.... | 104 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | 105 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Omnium (discount) | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| India Stock..... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| D ^o Bonds..... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| South-Sea Stock.... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| D ^o Old Ann..... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| D ^o New..... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 3 per Cent. 1751.... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| New Navy Bills.... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Exchequer d ^o | Par. 2 | Pr. 2 | Pr. 2 | — | — | — |
| Irish 5 per Cent.... | — | — | 99 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 102 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | — |
| Irish Debentures.... | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Lottery Tickets.... | — | — | — | — | — | — |

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. c.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| AMSTER. C.F. 10 17 us. | LEGHORN..... 51 |
| D ^o , at sight 10 14 | NAPLES..... 44 |
| ROTTERDAM.. 10 18 us. | GENOA..... 47 |
| HAMBURGH.. 33 3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ us. | VENICE, 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ livres piccole |
| ALTONA 33 4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ us. | effective per £. ster. |
| PARIS 1 day 23 15 | LISBON..... 57 |
| PARIS..... 2 us. 24 liv. | OPORTO..... 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| BOURDEAUX, 24 1 | DUBLIN..... 12 |
| CADIZ..... 34 in paper | BILBOA..... 36 D ^o |
| DITTO 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ effective | PALERMO |
| MADRID .. 34 in paper | AGIO, bank on Hol. p. |
| DITTO 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ effective | |

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Eng. Wheat per q. 48 to 67 | Hops per cwt... 81 to 141 |
| Foreign..... 00 .. 06 | Hay per load 75 .. 90 |
| Rye. 31 .. 33 | Beef, per stone.... 4s. 0d. |
| Barley. 27 .. 31 | to 5s. 0d. |
| Malt 45 .. 49 | Mutton .. 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. |
| Oats 12 .. 21 | Veal 4s. 6d. to 6s. 0d. |
| Pease (white).... 35 .. 37 | Pork.... 5s. 0d. to 6s. 0d. |
| Beans (horse).... 30 .. 33 | Tallow 3s. 6d. |
| Flour per sack .. 50 .. 53 | Average of Sugar |
| Seconds..... 45 .. 50 | per cwt. 35s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. |
| Coals per chal.... 27 .. 42 | Salt, per Bushel.. 14s. 3d. |
| Bread Ten Pence Halfpenny the Quarter Loaf. | |

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of June, 1802.

| Days. | M's Age | Weather. | Winds. | | Barometer. | | Thermo- | |
|-------|---------|----------|--------|----|------------|-------|---------|----|
| | | | M. | A. | M. | A. | M. | A. |
| 17 | | Fair. | N | N | 29,9 | 29,9 | 64 | 65 |
| 18 | | Fair. | N-E | NE | 30,05 | 30,05 | 63 | 67 |
| 19 | | Fine. | NW | NW | 30 | 29,92 | 65 | 69 |
| 20 | | Fair. | NE | NE | 30,05 | 30,06 | 62 | 67 |
| 21 | | Fine. | NE | NE | 30,2 | 30,2 | 60 | 65 |
| 22 | D | Fine. | W | W | 30,04 | 29,94 | 66 | 70 |
| 23 | | Fair. | NW | NW | 29,71 | 29,74 | 59 | 64 |

☉ New Moon ☾ 1st. Quar. ☉ F. Moon. ☾ 2nd. Quar.